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ON מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת
("THE DAY AFTER THE SABBATH")

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I

The difficulties involved in the expression מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "from the day after the Sabbath," occurring three times in a section of the so-called Holiness Code (Ph)—namely, Lev. 23:11, 15, 16—are so well known that they need not again be stated in detail. The dispute in regard to the interpretation to be put upon the phrase "from the day after the Sabbath" takes us back several centuries beyond the threshold of the Christian era,¹ and it is interesting to note that from the days of the Samaritans and Sadducees to the period of the Karaites, the followers of Judaism have been split into two opposing camps, the rabbis and their followers² contending that the word in the phrase designates "a day of rest," as which the first day of Passover was reckoned, so that the fifty days intervening between Passover and Pentecost are to be calculated from the 16th day of Nisan which would make the Pentecost fall on the 6th of Sivan, while the Boethusians,³ Samaritans,⁴ and Karaites, interpreting the word שַׁבָּת literally as the Sabbath falling within the Passover week which would bring the Pentecost festival always on a Sunday, but would not fix it permanently on any day of the month of Sivan. There is still a third view represented by the Syriac version⁵ and the Book of Jubilees⁶ and

¹ See the discussion on the phrase in the Babylonian Talmud, Treatise *Menahōt*, fol. 65.

² The fullest exposition of the rabbinical view, with a general discussion of opposing views, including those of modern commentators will be found in D. Hoffmann's *Leviticus*, pp. 155–215. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Pentecost."

³ See on this sect, allied apparently to the Sadducees, Hoffmann *op. cit.*, 160 f. and the references there given. According to G. Margoliouth in the *Athenaeum* of November 26, 1910, the documents recently published by Professor S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910), deal with this sect whose name, derived from a supposed founder, Boethos ("helper"), is a Greek form of Joshua or Jesus. See, however, G. F. Moore's article "The Covenanters of Damascus" in the *Harvard Theological Review*, IV, 330–77, for a dissenting view.

⁴ Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 40.

⁵ It renders the Hebrew phrase by *wab'tar yau' mā 'aḥrānā*, i.e., "the day after the last day."

See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, p. 106, n. 1.

adopted by the Dosithean sect¹ and the Falashas² of Abyssinia which applies שַׁבָּת to the 7th day of the Passover festival or the 21st day of Nisan, so that the Pentecost would fall on the 15th of Sivan according to the ecclesiastical calendar of 28 days to Nisan, while according to the calendar of the Falashas and Dositheans (in which all the months have 30 days), the date would be the 12th of Sivan. This latter view, however, belongs in the same category as the rabbinical interpretation, since in both instances שַׁבָּת is taken in the sense of a festival "day of rest"—in the one case applied to the 1st day of Passover, in the other to the 7th day.

The Greek version which follows the orthodox tradition³ is of special interest because in each of the three instances in which the phrase occurs it furnishes a different translation—thus illustrating the difficulties encountered in the endeavor to make the biblical text conform to tradition and established usage. In Lev. 23:11 the phrase is rendered τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης, "on the day after the first," i.e., of the Passover festival; vs. 15, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων, "from the day after the Sabbath," and vs. 16, ἕως τῆς ἐπαύριον τῆς ἐσχάτης ἑβδομάδος, "until the day after the last week." The word שַׁבָּת is thus taken in one case to designate the first day of Passover, in the second instance as the Sabbath,⁴ and in the third in the sense of "week," as in the phrase in Lev. 23:15, שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימוֹת which is rendered ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας ὁλοκλήρους, "seven whole weeks."

¹ See Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, I, xxiii. From Schechter's discussion the close affiliation between the Zadokites and Dositheans becomes practically certain, but if this be so then the Boethusians (above, p. 94) would not be an offshoot of the Sadducees, as has been maintained.

² See the note in Charles as above, and Schechter *ibid.*, p. xx, n. 31, and p. xxv, on the connection between the Falashas and the Dositheans.

³ As does the Targum Onkelos which renders מִמְחֶרֶת יוֹמָא טַבָּא, "on the day after the festival," whereas the Targum Jonathan is even more specific in adding קִמְצָאָה, i.e., "on the day after the first festival day." In our editions of the Targum Onkelos the phrase appears as מִמְחֶרֶת יוֹמָא טַבָּא in all three instances, which evidently is impossible in Lev. 23:16 where שַׁבָּת can only mean "week" (see below, p. 97). It is interesting in view of this to note that the Jewish Commentator Rashi (*ad Lev.* 23:16) had a Targumic text in which the reading was as in the *Ed. Sabioneta* (ed. Berliner, Targum Onkelos), שְׁבִיעֶתָּא שְׁבִיעֶתָּא, i.e., "seventh week."

⁴ The inconsistency of the Greek version in rendering "Sabbath" in Lev. 23:15, whereas the word must evidently be taken in the same sense in Lev. 23:11 and 15, is rather surprising, and raises the question whether this rendering may not be a correction in the interest of the heterodox view.

Fortunately, there is no question as to the rendering of מִמָּחֳרַת as "the day after." Such a passage as II Sam. 11:12, where גַּם הַיּוֹם בְּיוֹם הַהוּא וּמִמָּחֳרַת וּמִמָּחֳרַת stands in parallelism with בְּיוֹם הַהוּא וּמִמָּחֳרַת is conclusive.

Hoffman in his exhaustive discussion of the subject properly lays stress on the tradition to be traced back to the days of the Greek translation which provided that the Pentecost was celebrated on the 6th day of Sivan, and that within traditional Judaism no other day was ever recognized. Moreover, since the regulation of a cult demands that all festival days should be definitely fixed and since as a matter of fact, all the other Hebrew festivals are fixed in the most definite manner in the Priestly Code, it is unreasonable to assume that an exception should have been made for the Pentecost. The presumption therefore, is in favor of applying the phrase in the two passages Lev. 23:11, 15 to the 16th day of Nisan. On the other hand, the very fact that contrary opinions should have risen in pre-Christian days must be taken as an indication that until fixed by the Priestly Code, Pentecost was a movable feast, which in view of the circumstance that it was originally merely the end of the corn harvest, the barley ripening in the middle of Nisan and the wheat fifty days later, is not surprising. A religious significance for Pentecost is not brought forward until post-Biblical days, and it is evident that the attachment of the festival to the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai is a theological device—entirely arbitrary and artificial—in order to justify and preserve an occasion that otherwise would have no *raison d'être* in a religion whose festivals—as the entire spirit of the religion—had moved far away from the time when agricultural conditions constituted a determining factor. It may be admitted, therefore, that the phrase itself, as a survival of an earlier period in the religion, is open to various interpretations, but on the other hand it is equally clear that in the mind of the compilers of the Priestly Code it was intended definitely to fix Pentecost on a specific day of the month, just as all the other festivals are fixed for specific days;¹ and this could only be brought about by taking the "day after the Sabbath"

¹ Modern commentators like Dillmann, Strack, and even Baentsch neglect to take this point of view which, it seems to me, is decisive, into consideration. Hence, they either leave the decision as to the phrase open, or proceed on a wrong track, as does Baentsch who adopts the "heterodox" view without seeing the difficulties in which he thereby involves himself.

to refer either to the day after the 1st, or to the day after the 7th day of Nisan. Orthodox tradition shows that the Priestly Code had in mind the former which, moreover, is favored by the context.

II

One can also understand how the term **שַׁבָּת** from meaning "Sabbath" should have acquired the force of "week" as must be assumed in either the orthodox or heterodox interpretation for the third passage, Lev. 23:16 (as well as in vs. 25 **שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת הַמִּיָּמוֹת**).¹ We have a parallel in **יָרֵךְ** which, originally the "new-moon," designates also the "month."² In Talmudic usage, in fact, the extension of **שַׁבָּת** to convey the idea of "week" is quite common³ and it is likely or at least possible that in the phrases **בְּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת** and **יָצֵא הַשַּׁבָּת**⁴ the reference is, as the Jewish commentator Nachmanides suggested, to the incoming and outgoing "weekly" guard, so that we should have another example of this extended usage of the term in biblical literature.

The real difficulty arises when the attempt is made to account for the application of the term **שַׁבָּת** to the 1st day of Passover in the two other passages (Lev. 23:11, 15). One need only read Hoffmann's discussion of the point at issue⁵ to see how forced and artificial the arguments are which he brings forward to justify this interpretation. Because certain festival days not falling on the 7th day are spoken of as **שַׁבְּתוֹן** (1st, 15th, and 22d of Tishri)⁶ and in one case (10th of Tishri) as **שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן**,⁷ it does not follow that **שַׁבָּת** could be applied to *any*

¹ Of Deut. 16:9. **שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת** as a parallel to **שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת**.

² E.g. Exod. 40:2. **בְּיוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַחֵר לַחֹדֶשׁ**, where the first **חֹדֶשׁ** means "new moon" and the second one, "month," or Ezek. 45:17. **בְּחֹדְשִׁים**, "new moons"; vs. 18. **לַחֹדֶשׁ**, "month"; vs. 20. **בְּחֹדֶשׁ**, "new moon."

³ E.g. *Megillā* III, 4. **בַּשַּׁבָּת**, "on the Sabbath," by the side of **בְּאֶמְצַע הַשַּׁבָּת**, "in the middle of the week." Other examples in Hoffmann's *Leviticus*, p. 210.

⁴ II Kings 11:5-7.

⁵ Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 199-210.

⁶ Lev. 23:24, 39.

⁷ Lev. 23:32. I take **שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן** in this meaningless combination as a marginal comment to suggest the equation **שַׁבְּתוֹן = שַׁבָּת**. There is, as a matter of fact, no formal distinction between a Shabbath and a Shabbathōn. The latter term is an adjective formation to indicate a day that has the character of a Sabbath in the older sense as set forth in this article. It belongs to a period prior to the development of a Sabbath institution, celebrated every seventh day without any reference to the phases of the moon. Shabbathōn, therefore, has the force of Sabbatical. See further on this below, p. 105, and the author's paper on "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath" in the *American Journal of Theology*, II, 312, and chap. iii of the author's work on *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (New York, 1913).

festival day, and since even שַׁבְּתוֹן is never applied to the Passover festival, it is certainly not plausible that שַׁבַּת should have been used as a designation of the 1st day. Nor has the point made by Hoffmann¹ and others that מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת is the most appropriate and briefest designation of the day after the 1st day of Passover much force. It is true that מִמַּחֲרַת הָחֹדֶשׁ or מִמַּחֲרַת הַמּוֹעֵד might have been ambiguous, since the Hag or Mōēd does not terminate with the 1st day, but the compiler of the Holiness Code might have used מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח as in Num. 33:3 and Josh. 5:11 which certainly refers to the 16th day of Nisan (Hoffman, pp. 190 f.), just as מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת. It would appear, however, that it is precisely this synonymity between מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח and מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת that has been the source of all the trouble, since it has led scholars to suppose that הַשַּׁבָּת is the designation for the 1st day of the festival, whereas the question whether it may not be merely a designation for the 15th day of any month has until recently² been overlooked. If we turn to the beginning of the chapter we encounter (vs. 5, בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ) the specific mention of the eve of the 14th day as the beginning of Passover to Yahweh, and the 15th day (vs. 6, הַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי עָשָׂר) as the Hag of Massôt. It is, therefore, reasonable to interpret the phrase מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת as the designation of the first day after the 14th, i.e., the 15th day, which would make שַׁבַּת the designation of the middle of the month—quite independently of the fact that the 14th or 15th day of the first month happens to be a festival day.

A discovery made by Dr. T. G. Pinches a number of years ago furnishes the needed proof for this hypothesis and incidentally throws a further light on the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath. In 1904 he published the more complete text of a tablet furnishing the designation of the days of the month in Babylonia, together with the ideographic and phonetic designation of certain terms used in connection with certain days.³ From this list we learn that the 15th day, or the

¹ Hoffmann's attempt to explain why שַׁבְּתוֹן is not applied to the Passover is very sophistical, and rests on an improbable theory that שַׁבְּתוֹן represents a certain grade of rest.

² After this article had been finished, my attention was called to pp. 389 f. of the 2d ed. of Benzinger's *Hebräische Archaeologie*, where the suggestion to regard the phrase as referring to the 15th day of the month is made—so far as I am aware for the first time. The passage quoted by him from the inscription of Gudea has no reference to the full moon.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI (1904), 51–56. Apart from the designations of the days of the month (for which see the following note), we have such

middle of the month, has a special designation, ša-bat-ti, or as it can also be read ša-pat-ti.¹ This term had hitherto been encountered only in a syllabary² as the equivalent of ūm nûḫ libbi. The phrase, clearly to be rendered "day of rest of the heart," was at first interpreted literally by scholars as a "day of rest." Subsequently, when it was ascertained that nûḫ libbi was a frequent expression in lamentation hymns for the pacification of the gods,³ the Babylonian šabattu was regarded either as a day when the gods were unfavorably disposed, or when it became particularly important to secure their favor. The proof, however, that any special day was designated as šabattu was wanting. From a tablet furnishing rites to be observed for the days of the month of Elul (IV², Rawlinson Pl. 32-33), it was ascertained that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th of the month were unfavorable days. Each one of these days was described as UT ̒UL=ūmu limnu. Special precautions were prescribed for the ruler, who is not to eat meat that had touched the fire, not to ride on a chariot, not to be vainglorious (?) etc., but there was no reference to nûḫ libbi or šabattum in connection with these days. In view of this, it was not permissible to go farther than to assume that the Babylonians had four days corresponding to the four phases of the moon as unfavorable, and that the 19th day had the same character. While it seemed likely that there was some connection between the Hebrew Sabbath and these four days, especially in view of the originally austere character of the Hebrew Sabbath,⁴ there was no

terms as šulum, "evil day," rimku and takiltu, "purification days," isinnu, "festival day," a ̒ltu, "New Year's festival," eššešu and ūmu arḫu, "new-moon."

¹ The other days from 1 to 10 are designated merely as first, second, etc., as the 20th and 30th are entered as ešrā ("twenty") and šelašā ("thirty"). Only the 21st (besides the 15th) has a special designation, ibbu, day of "anger" (= uggatu, CT, XVIII, 23, 15), which also occurs as the description of the 18th in the list IV², R 32 Col. II, 39 by the side of UT ̒UL=ūmu limnu, while the 25th day is described as ar-ḫu Til(la), i.e., "end of the month," i.e., the beginning of the period when the moon is about to disappear. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, 510f.

² IIR 32, Nr. 1, 16=CT, XVIII, 23 (K 4397), 17, ūm nu-uḫ lib-bi=ša-bat-tum.

³ The juxtaposition with linûḫ kabittika, "may thy liver be at rest," in these hymns definitely established the meaning of linûḫ libbika as "may thy heart be at rest," in the sense of appeasement of anger.

⁴ See Jastrow, "Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, II, 312-62. I see no reason, after reading the monographs of Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1907); Bohn, *Sabbat im Alten Testament* (Gütersloh, 1903), and Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament* (Göttingen, 1905), to abandon my thesis that the Hebrew institution of the Sabbath rests on an ancient substratum involving the "unfavorable" character of specific days in the

reason to suppose that the Babylonians at any time had a Sabbath as a day of rest, celebrated every seventh day, and, as intimated, the connecting link between the Hebrew שַׁבָּת and the Babylonian šabattu was missing. The text published by Pinches supplies this link, since it clearly shows that the 15th day of the month, or full-moon, was designated as šabattu, the identity of which with שַׁבָּת there is of course no reason any longer to question. Zimmern, following up Pinches' discovery with two articles in *ZDMG*,¹ reinforced the conclusion that šabattu was indeed the designation for the full-moon, and that as such it could be applied to the 14th day of the month as well as to the 15th day. In the Babylonian-Assyrian astrological texts, the 14th is quite as frequently entered as the time of full-moon as the 15th.²

From these same astrological texts we know that there were three periods in the month that were fraught with special significance, the new-moon, the disappearance of the moon at the end of the month for three days, and the full-moon. According as these days fell at the expected time or not, the omen was favorable or unfavorable. The Babylonians and Assyrians having no means, till about the third century B.C.,³ of calculating the time of the appearance of the new-moon were dependent on observation;⁴ therefore it often happened that they missed the exact day of the appearance of the new-moon, and hence also of the full-moon. For the time of full-moon we have

month. Evidence for this is abundant. Hehn (pp. 120 f.) admits this austere substratum and his opposition to my views resolves itself into a question of words. It may be that I pressed the thesis too hard, but the foundation on which it rests remains unshaken. Bohn does not refer to my investigation, but the evidence that he gathers (pp. 46 f. s.) for the joyful character of the Sabbath belongs exclusively to the post-exilic period, and it is precisely the emphasis laid upon the joy that should prevail on the Sabbath day which reveals the attempt to remove the traces of its original character. Meinhold, who rejects the thesis because of the proof now furnished that the Sabbath was originally the full-moon, overlooks the fact that both the new-moon and the full-moon as periods of transition are days of anxiety—not necessarily unfavorable, but uncertain in their character. They were, therefore, days on which it was important to avoid doing anything to arouse the displeasure or anger of the gods. That is the essential character of a Babylonian ʾumu limnu. See further chap. iii, "The Hebrew and the Babylonian Sabbath," in my *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (New York, 1914).

¹ Vol. LVIII, pp. 199-202, 458-60.

² See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, II, 468-82.

³ See Kugler, *Babylonische Mondrechnung*, pp. 54-58, 115-202.

⁴ See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 429. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Sanhedrin retained this purely empirical method of determining the appearance of the new-moon through witnesses who reported that they had seen the new crescent. See the Mishnah of Rosh Ha-Shana, II, 6-7.

indeed in the astrological texts a leeway of five days—from the 12th to 16th as the period of its possible appearance. The full-moon was particularly hard to recognize because the moon might *appear* to be full before the actual period of full-moon had set in. A too early or a belated appearance of the full-moon presaged evil,¹ and so also in case the moon disappeared or seemed to disappear before the 27th of the month.² The reappearance of the moon was hailed with joy,³ the popular myth picturing the occasion as the release of the moon from captivity; but the two other periods, the full-moon and the end of the month, took on a somber aspect. The day of disappearance had its special designation, *ûm bubbuli*,⁴ and correspondingly the full-moon had a special name, *šabattu*. Since, moreover, as Combe has shown,⁵ *nannaru*, one of the names of the moon-god was originally the designation of the new-moon, we would have special names for all three occasions, *nannaru* = new-moon, *šabattu* = full-moon, and *bubbulu* = disappearance at the end of the month.

The connection between *šabattu*⁶ and שָׁבַת being obvious, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that we should find traces of this earlier usage of the term as a designation of the full-moon in the Old Testament. The difficulties involved in the term מִמְחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבַת vanish, if in the two passages Lev. 23:11 and 15 we take שָׁבַת in this original sense as the specific designation of the 15th day of the month, the middle of the month when the moon was full, and when there was a transition to the waning period of the moon. On the assumption that the Hebrews, like the Babylonians, at one time applied the term *shabbath* to the day of full-moon, we can now understand the frequent juxtaposition of new-moon and Sabbath in the Old Testament, to which Zimmern likewise called attention.⁷ If in II Kings 4:23, we find

¹ See Jastrow, *ibid.*, II, 466 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 511 f.

³ See, e.g., Hymn Nr. I, 20 (=Scheil, *Fouilles à Sippar*, Nr. 18) in King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 6.

⁴ I.e., "day of carrying off," also known simply as *bubbulum*, e.g., King, *loc. cit.*, No. I, 17. It is also spoken of as *an ûm idirti*, "a day of anxiety," and the like.

⁵ *Histoire du Culte de Sin*, pp. 8 and 13 f.

⁶ The identity is established whether we read *šabattu* or *šapattu*, for, assuming that the Babylonians pronounced the word *šapattu*, the *p* would be due, as Jensen pointed out (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, XIV, 182), to the initial *š*. Jensen's view was accepted by Zimmern (*ZDMG*, LVIII, 459). See also Küchler, *Beiträge zur babylonisch-assyrischen Medizin*, p. 90.

⁷ *ZDMG*, LVIII, 202.

the husband of the Shunnamite woman saying to his wife who wishes to start on a journey to consult the "man of God" (אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים), "Why dost thou go to-day? It is neither new-moon nor Sabbath," the association of the ideas shows that it was customary to seek an oracle on these occasions; and it is a fair presumption that both days partook of the same character. If we apply Sabbath here to the full-moon, we should have a common meeting-ground for new-moon and Sabbath in the transition period that each represents, one marking the beginning of the moon's growth, the other the beginning of the decline. Incidentally, the passage in Kings reveals an observance of a Sabbath that could not have had much in common with the distinctively Hebrew institution. To make a journey on a Sabbath day in order to consult a "man of God" is as far removed as possible from the Sabbath of the Pentateuchal Codes, enforcing cessation from all labor and emphasizing the dedication of the day to Yahweh. It is a fair inference that prior to the organization of the kingdom, leading to the growing importance of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and to the organization of an elaborate priesthood, the Hebrew Sabbath did not exist, except in embryo.

It does not of course follow that wherever new-moon and Sabbath are placed in parallelism, the reference is to the beginning and to the middle of the month. The phrase would survive long after the original association of the two terms had passed away. So when Isaiah (1:13) says, "New-moon and Sabbath, calling an assembly, I cannot bear iniquity with holy convocation," all that we are justified in concluding is that both occasions were marked in a solemn manner. Perhaps a trace of the once close association between new-moon and Sabbath is to be seen in the complaint of Amos (8:5) who, in denouncing the greed of the people, says that they cannot wait for the end of the new-moon and of the Sabbath day to resume their barter and exchange: "When will the new-moon be over, that we may sell corn, and the Sabbath [be over] that we may open up grain?"

We have clearly reached the time when the Sabbath, celebrated every seventh day without reference to the phases of the moon, had assumed the character of a day of cessation from labor and business; but that the same restrictions were applied to the first day of the month—for which there is no warrant in any of the codes—can best

be accounted for as a survival of the association of new-moon and full-moon as transition periods in which it was essential to take precautions for fear of arousing the displeasure of some deity. The *restrictive* aspects of the Hebrew Sabbath are similarly due, as I have suggested elsewhere,¹ to this anxiety aroused by a transition period, such as the time of full-moon was. When, for example it is said that the people are not to leave their houses on the Sabbath day (Exod. 16:29), nor to kindle any fires (Exod. 35:3), nor to eat anything cooked over a fire (Exod. 16:23), it is evident that such restrictions are not an outcome of the ordinance in the two Decalogues to keep the Sabbath holy by abstaining from physical labor and by granting the members of the household and even the domesticated animals—the ox and the ass—a respite from the toil of the week. The labor meant is work in the fields in accord with the general character of the Pentateuchal Codes which assume agricultural conditions as the normal state, and which are adapted to such a mode of life. The prohibition against leaving one's house on a certain day is of a totally different order and rests on the fear that something may happen to one. It fits in with a day on which the gods are prone to anger, just as the prohibition against fire rests on the notion that fire as a sacred element must not be touched if there is a possibility of divine displeasure. Such restrictions, we can well suppose, would survive from the time when the Sabbath was an inauspicious day marking the period of full moon; they would be transferred to the later Sabbath celebrated every seventh day without regard to the phases of the moon and which was to be observed as a day of recreation—"that one may refresh oneself," as the expressive phrase (Exod. 23:12) reads. But on the other hand it is equally clear that they antedate the distinctively Jewish Sabbath and arose independently of it. In Hos. 2:13 and Isa. 66:23 the combination of new-moon and Sabbath is purely conventional, but when Ezekiel in his elaborate program for the construction of the temple and the reorganization of the cult provides² that the "inner eastern gate" should be closed during the six days of the week but open on new-moon and Sabbath for the

¹ See the article above (p. 99, n. 4) referred to and also in *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, pp. 168f., where this point is set forth in greater detail.

² Ezek. 46:1.

assembling of the people therein, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in this instance the association of new-moon and Sabbath is a survival—perhaps an unconscious one in the mind of the prophet—of the character of the older Sabbath, marking the full-moon period as the complement to the new-moon.

As a further trace of the significance attached by the Hebrews to the full-moon period, we have the two chief pre-exilic festivals—the Passover in the spring combined with the Ḥag of Maṣṣōt and the Ḥag in the fall, that became known as the Ḥag of Sukkōt—both fixed for the middle of the month. Both are agricultural festivals, the former marking the beginning of the corn harvest, the latter the close of the fruit harvest. Naturally harvest times cannot be fixed for any *particular* day and so the full-moon time of the 1st and 7th months are chosen as *about* corresponding to the beginning and end of the harvest respectively. Later, when with the definite organization of an elaborate cult and of an extensive priesthood it became necessary to fix the festivals definitely, the 15th day of Nisan and the 15th day of Tishri were chosen. This point of view survives into the post-exilic period where we find the New Year's day fixed at the new-moon of the 7th month, and on the other hand we find an old spring festival that fell in the middle of Adar revived and given a Jewish coloring by being associated with the events told in the book of Esther. The result is the festival of Purim celebrated on the 15th day of Adar, preceded by a fast day on the 14th day. The fast and the festival form the two aspects of the period of transition marked by the full-moon, the feeling of anxiety lest the full-moon might not set in at the expected time, followed by the sense of relief at the successful passing of the crisis.

With such survivals, even to a late period, of the part played by the views associated with new-moon and full-moon, we ought not to be surprised to find also a survival of the former views associated with the Sabbath as the period of full-moon in the language. The two references in Lev. 23:11 and 15 stand out as solitary sign-posts of an abandoned road. But is there not a difficulty in assuming that in the same chapter (vs. 16) we should find the phrase, **עַד מִמָּחֳרַת הַשְּׁבִיעִת** used in the sense of week, i.e., “until the day after the completion of the seventh week”? If we assume the twenty-third

chapter of Leviticus to be of one piece, we would indeed have to admit an *impasse*, but the chapter, as every other chapter in the various Pentateuchal Codes, is composite in character, showing various super-imposed layers on an old substratum and furthermore marked by glosses and comments.¹ In this chapter we encounter other traces of archaic usage, such as the introduction of the term שַׁבְּחוֹן to describe the 1st, 15th, and 22d day of Tishri² as well as the 10th day of this month.³ That *shabbathôn* is merely another form for שַׁבָּת is shown by vs. 3 where שַׁבְּחוֹן is applied to the ordinary Sabbath. One is tempted to conclude from this that the original force of the ending *ôn* in *shabbathôn* was to give an adjectival force—a day having the character of a Sabbath, on which the same precautions were to be exercised as at the full-moon period. In other words, I venture to suggest on the basis of the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus that שַׁבְּחוֹן was introduced at a time when שַׁבָּת still had an austere character, and that the term was intended to designate other days on which rites *like* those provided for the full-moon period were to be observed. Later, as the consciousness of the older meaning of שַׁבָּת passed away in the face of the growing significance of the observance of the 7th day which as a central institution of the religion became the Sabbath writ large, שַׁבְּחוֹן was dropped and only survived like a fossil specimen that has found its way into a later stratum.

III

To analyze the chapter in detail would carry us too far from our immediate subject. That must be left for another occasion. I may content myself here with summarizing the results of my study of the chapter which show that the section in which מִמְחֶרֶת הַשַּׁבָּת occurs in

¹ See an article by the writer, "An Analysis of Lev., chaps. 13 and 14" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, IV, No. 3) in which I illustrate through these two chapters the complicated process involved in the growth of the legal sections of the codes.

² Lev. 23:24, 39.

³ 23:32, where שַׁבָּת is a gloss to indicate that שַׁבְּחוֹן = שַׁבָּת and which, creeping into the text, brought about the meaningless שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּחוֹן. The same is the case in vs. 3, where שַׁבְּחוֹן in the sense of an austere occasion is the older designation, which is equated by a commentator with שַׁבָּת. To translate שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּחוֹן as "a Sabbath of Sabbaths" or "a Sabbath of rest" is a mere makeshift. Every Sabbath is a "Sabbath of rest" and a "Sabbath of Sabbaths" is absurd, particularly when applied to the ordinary Sabbath as in vs. 3.

the sense of "the day after the full-moon" belongs to a stratum which antedates the rise of the distinctly Jewish Sabbath, while its use in vs. 16 in the sense of "week" belongs to a later layer dating from a period when a Sabbath was celebrated every 7th day without reference to the phases of the moon. The chapter is a combination of two lists or two calendars of festivals dovetailed into each other, and to which numerous later additions have been made, glosses and comments inserted and the whole brought into a semblance of unity by the introduction of certain phrases, indicative of the later character of the festivals as (1) **מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ** occasions of "holy convocations," (2) **כָּל-מְלָאכָתָ עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ** marked by "cessation from labor," and (3) **הַקָּת עוֹלָם לְדוֹרֵיכֶם** ordained as an "everlasting statute for your generations." The two layers are revealed by the two headings and the two subscripts, namely, vss. 2 and 4, forming the headings, and vss. 37 and 44, the subscripts. Vss. 2 and 37 form the heading and subscript respectively for the later layer, while vs. 4 which has been amplified by the conventional addition of **מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר-** to the original heading **אֵלֶּה מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה** is the heading of the older layer for which vs. 44 forms the subscript. In the older layer the Sabbath is *not* included among the festivals. Its inclusion in the late layer (vs. 3) may be an afterthought, in which case the use of **שַׁבְּתוֹן** as an alternative for **שַׁבָּת** would be an archaism to make the description of the 7th day of each week correspond to the 1st, 10th, 15th, and 22d day of Tishri which are designated as **שַׁבְּתוֹן**. The older layer begins with the festival of Pesach (vs. 5) celebrated at twilight of the 14th day of the first month, while the later layer introduces (vs. 6) the **חַג הַמַּצּוֹת**—the Hag of Massôt to be celebrated for 7 days. It is the older layer that provides for the waving of the first sheaf by the priest to whom it is brought on the day after the full-moon (**מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת**) i.e., on the 16th day of the first month (vss. 10–11).¹ From the later layer the sacrificial regulations (vss. 12–13) are added, as also v. 14 which includes in the first part a general instruction the nature of which is not altogether clear.² The older layer provides for the

¹ The first part of the verse, "When ye come to the land which I give you and ye garner its harvest" is an addition by the compiler of the two layers.

² A comparison with Josh. 5:11 suggests that **רָמַל** is a gloss or comment to **קָלִי**. The variant **קָלִי קָלִי** in Joshua to **קָלִי** in Lev., chap. 23 indicates that the term was no longer

counting of 50 days from the day after the full moon, when bread made of the new wheat is to be brought as first offerings to Yahweh, but the verses in which this is set forth (vss. 15–17) contain parts of the later layer, together with explanatory glosses. The words *שִׁבְעַת שָׁבָחוֹת תְּמִימוֹת תִּהְיֶינָה* at the end of vs. 15 represent a comment as does 16a, *עַד מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת הַשְּׂבִיעִית*, while the provision to bring a new *minḥâ* (at the end of vs. 16) is taken over from the later list, just as the specification (vs. 17b) of what this *minḥâ* is to consist of (2/20 of fine flour baked without leaven)¹ is a part of the later layer which assumes bloody and cereal offerings in connection with all festivals. Hence vss. 18–21 belong to this later layer. The original form of this part of the older stratum underlying the chapter reads about as follows:

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן
בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ בֵּין הָעֲרֹפִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה וַהֲבֵאתֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר
רִאשִׁית קִצְרֹכֶם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְהֵנִיף אֶת־הָעֹמֶר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְרִצְוֹנְכֶם
מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת יִנִּיפוּ הַכֹּהֵן וּסְפַרְתֶּם לָכֶם מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת מִיּוֹם
הַבִּיאְכֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר הַתְּנוּפָה תִּסְפְּרוּ הַמִּשְׁפָּחִים יוֹם (ו) מִמוֹשְׁבֵיכֶם
לֶחֶם תִּבְּאוּ לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה² בַּכּוֹרִים לַיהוָה³
i.e., “on the 14th day of the 1st month at twilight is the Passover to Yahweh, and ye shall bring the sheaf of the first of your harvesting to the priest who shall wave the sheaf before Yahweh for your propitiation. On the day after the Sabbath [i.e., the full-moon] the priest shall wave it. And ye shall count from the day after the Sabbath [i.e., the full-moon], from the day that ye bring the sheaf of waving ye shall count 50 days [and] bring from your habitations bread of waving as first offerings to Yahweh.”⁴

understood. Perhaps the correct reading in both Joshua and Lev., chap. 23 is *לֶחֶם קָלִי* in the sense of bread made of the new barley, in which case *מִצּוֹת* in Joshua would either be a slip for *לֶחֶם*, or is to be taken in the sense of “cakes of the new barley.”

¹ שְׁתֵּים “two,” awkwardly added, is a comment, based probably on later usage.

² Further explained in Lev. 2:14–16.

³ This phrase *יוֹם הַבְּכוֹרִים לַיהוָה* suggested the name “day of first offerings” for the festival in Num. 28:26, whereas Exod. 23:16 the occasion is designated as *הַג הַקָּצִיר*, “Harvesting Hag” to which a misleading explanatory comment *בְּכוֹרֵי מַעֲשֵׂיהָ*, “the first offerings of thy deeds,” is added, with a view of equating the *הַג הַקָּצִיר* with *הַבְּכוֹרִים*. Lev., chap. 23 shows that the 50th day after the Pesach festival had no specific name. It simply marked the end of the spring harvest which began with the ripening of the barley in the middle of the 1st month and ended with the ripening of the wheat 50 days later.

⁴ שְׁתֵּים, “two,” is a later addition. See above, n. 1.

The section, thus freed from its later encumbrances, bears all the earmarks of belonging to an early period of religious evolution. The setting is for agricultural conditions, but the rites smack of popular customs. The priest is already there—a mediator between the deity and the worshiper—but there is no sanctuary with an elaborate cult, no priesthood to be supported by rich offerings of animals and cereals. A sheaf of the new wheat is to be “waved”—to be raised on high by the priest as the gesture of offering it to the god of the fields;¹ and this is to be done “for your propitiation” (לְרַצֶּיִךָ) in order to secure the good-will and the favor of the corn-spirit—just as the original purpose of the provision not to glean “the corner of thy field in thy garnering” (vs. 22) was to leave some remnant for the spirits of the field, a custom for which there are parallels elsewhere.² A later age changed the custom into an act of charity by adding “for the poor and the stranger thou shalt leave them.”

Equally simple and direct without any suggestion of an obligation imposed by a priesthood is the provision to count 50 days till the end of the corn harvest, and then to celebrate the occasion by offering the deity bread made from the wheat, the last of the cereals to ripen.

Corresponding to these simple provisions for the beginning and end of the corn harvest in the spring, we have equally simple rites to be observed for the fruit harvest in the fall. The older layer is represented by vss. 39–40, the later layer by vss. 34–36, with vs. 37 as the subscript, amplified through the summary in vs. 38, while vss. 41–43 are further supplements belonging originally after vs. 36 as part of the older layer, but transferred to their present position through the editing process involved in welding the two layers into a unity. In the older layer, the fall festival is simply the יַהְיֵהּ, “the festival of Yahweh,” whereas the later layer, having recognized a

¹ This gesture of dedication by “raising” the offering suggests that it originated at a time when there was an image or symbol of a deity on a pedestal, and the priest lifted the offering up to the image or symbol. The embodiment of the phrase in later layers of ritualistic regulations, as e.g. Lev. 14:12b, 24; 8:27, 29, is conventional, since shoulders or breasts of lambs or goats are too heavy to be “waved”—a survival of the time when a sheaf, or loaves of bread, or small quantities of flour and oil were “raised” to symbolize their being offered to a deity. In the latest summaries of sacrificial regulations, Lev., chaps. 1–5 and Num., chaps. 28–29, no “waving” is referred to. It is open to question whether the method of “waving” detailed in rabbinical literature (see the article “Omer” in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX, 399a) represents a genuine tradition, though this method also could be applicable to light objects only and not to shoulders or breasts of large animals.

² See Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, I, 232–35.

הַג הַמַּצּוֹת (vs. 5), must specify the other Hag as הַג הַסְּכּוֹת (vs. 34). The Hag of the older layer is a festival of seven days' rejoicing, with the 1st and 8th days, i.e., the 15th and 22d days of the 7 months, as שְׁבֻחוֹן —partaking of the character of "transition" periods, whereas in the later layer the 1st and 8th days are set aside for holy convocation, on which no work is to be done, with offerings—briefly referred to as אֲשֵׁה¹—for all of the 7 days. The old provision simply read (vss. 39–40): "On the 15th day of the 7th month, when ye gather the produce of the land, ye shall celebrate a festival of Yahweh for seven days—the 1st is a shabbathôn, and the 8th day is a shabbathôn. And ye shall take on the first day fruit of the Hadar tree, palm branches, and a thick bough² and rejoice before Yahweh for seven days."

It is not necessary for our purposes to take up the two other festivals enumerated in this chapter, (1) the 1st day of the 7th month (vss. 24–25) and (2) the 10th day of the 7th month (vss. 27–32). The latter clearly reveals two layers. In regard to the festival on the 1st day of the 7th month, one may be in doubt whether the older layer included it, though the use of שְׁבֻחוֹן favors the supposition. In that case, זִכְרוֹן תְּרִימָה would describe the day in the later layer.³ Both layers recognize the 10th of the month as an occasion for "afflicting one's soul," but whether in the older layer this meant fasting, as is assumed in the later layer, is again an open question. It is the older layer again which designates the 10th day as שְׁבֻחוֹן (vs. 32) to which, as above indicated,⁴ a gloss added שְׁבֵת as an equation.

Leaving this aside and confining ourselves to the sections of the older layer in which the phrase מִמְחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבֶת occurs, the analysis will have shown that the survival of the use of שְׁבֵת as a designation for the "full-moon" period is in keeping with the general archaic character of the old list of festive days in which it occurs, marked by

¹ The full specification will be found Num. 29:12–38.

² עֵנֶה עֵץ-קֶבֶת, which, being an unusual expression, is interpreted as עֵרְבֵי-נָחַל, "brook willows"—as the kind of a "thick bough" that is meant. "The palm branches" may likewise be a later insertion.

³ See Num. 29:1.

⁴ Above, p. 105, n. 3. I believe that the 10th day of the 7th month marks a very old festival connected with the yaum 'ashurâ' of the ancient Arabs, and which passed through a very elaborate process before developing into the post-exilic "day of atonement." I hope to set this thesis forth in a special article on Lev., chap. 16.

observances for the occasions specified that reveal their antiquity by their simple and naïve character. If the analysis here offered is correct, a further proof will have been furnished for the thesis that the distinctively Jewish Sabbath is a later institution than the *Hag* in the fall and than the harvest festival in the spring which was divided into two parts, the time of the barley harvest in the middle of the 1st month and that of the wheat harvest falling 50 days later.